42:Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

factor should never remain unpunished, even though he be of your own kindred; although in the latter case the sacking of his house and properties will usually be sufficient, without having to resort to bloodshed; and then also there will necessarily be no solidarity, except perhaps in the case of his near relatives. An Isneg who allows an injury to pass unpunished has not the blood of the *méñal* (brave) flowing in his veins. Actually of course we cannot always take the law in our own hands, and so we have to resort to the tribunal of the Ibanag. Now you should never fail to do so, whenever there are no other means available for revenging yourself with impunity".

A couple of years ago, an Isneg from Tawit, whose father was supposed to have been killed at Ripang years ago, murdered a Ripang woman at Kabugaw, under the eyes of the constabulary, on the occasion of a garden day celebration. The murder occurred in the evening, when the woman,—who even then was still too young to have had any knowledge of the murder of the Tawit man's father except perhaps from hearsay, and who consequently could not have had the least participation in it,—was sitting as a guest in the house of one of her people, a policeman, who at the time resided at Kabugaw. She was leaning with her back against the wall of the house, when the Tawit man, who stood outside in the dark, pushed a sharpened bamboo rod through the interstices and pierced the woman's side, with the inevitable result that the victim died after a few hours.

Not so long ago our friend *Kadáw* of Lettuakan, who had been badly injured by *Kinagúrān* of Talifugu in the heroic times now seemingly gone forever, one of his hands having been almost totally disabled, came to pay me a visit. He had a few eatables for sale and wanted to get a comparatively large share of the white man's money. At a certain moment our conversation ran in the following vein:

I: *Kinagúrān* is your friend, is he not?

Kadáw: Yes, indeed, we are good friends now.

I: But suppose the soldiers would leave the district.

I had barely finished my sentence when the old headhunter sprang up, his face beaming, his eyes radiant with a fiendish joy, and, swinging his arms, his hands fingering invisible weapons, he exclaimed: "Oh, then you would see some fighting indeed".

"Never pick a quarrel with a friend: such things should be avoided; but in case of somebody wanting to quarrel with you, go ahead. Nobody will keep his peace if he thinks he is right. Would it not be utter cowardice to keep quiet and let the thing go by? No, shut the

42: Vanoverbergh E-8 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

577 lawful revenge for a former injury: a traveler who passes your
609 village is a guest more than anything else, so show him the way with
683 truth and exactitude, whenever you are questioned about it. In a
574 word, be truthful, whenever you have no grave reason to act otherwise; and, with reference to your enemies and the Ibanag, deceit is usually lawful: only special circumstances might oblige you to stick to truth even in their case."

576 Isneg know little of what we understand by courtesy: they rarely
201 come out of their house, for instance, to show you the way. If you ask them for information, they usually give it to you, truthfully indeed, but without taking the trouble to appear and show the direction by gestures, which would ordinarily be much clearer, at least to a complete stranger, than mere oral indications. Under this respect a Negrito is generally much more correct, at least according to our own point of view.

Now let us consider a few vices and crimes more in particular.

682 "Never kill or wound a friend: this is a crime that calls for venge-
577 ance. Perhaps he was far from right in sustaining the quarrel, but you inevitably put yourself in the wrong by resorting to bloodshed. A homicide or any kind of severe wounding among friends brings in its wake at least the customary looting of the house of the culprit. So beware, control yourself in time, before it is too late to repent. When you are engaged in some dangerous business,—for instance, when hunting,—always be prudent and see that no harm befalls any person. Death by violence is a terrible thing; bloodshed is never allowed among people who are not at enmity with one another".

672 Two examples will show very clearly how little the Isneg care about intention or purpose; the result of your act is the only thing they consider: if you killed a person, it is wholly immaterial whether you did it intentionally or not, whether it was premeditated or done by accident, whether you could have prevented it or not, whether there was culpable negligence on your part or not.

682 Last year an Isneg soldier from Musimut went to hunt at night
672 with some friends and relatives. He handed his gun to one of his kinsmen living at Nagbabalayan, gave him the necessary instructions, and then went the other way to drive the game in the direction of the man with the gun. When the latter fired at the deer that ran toward him, he killed the soldier instead: the poor fellow must have lost all sense of direction or forgotten about the place where he left his gun; anyhow he died after a few moments. No sooner was the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

deed done but the relatives of the dead soldier mustered together, went to Nagbabalayan, entered the house of the poor involuntary killer and rifled whatever they found of value.

A few months ago at Nagilian (municipal district of Namaltugan), a man ascended a coconut tree in order to gather a few nuts. Unfortunately, while he was dropping them on the ground, a child came running along and received the thump of one of the huge nuts on its head: the child fell down of course and lay unconscious. So soon as the parents and relatives heard about the whole affair, all head-axes were unsheathed, and terrible things might have happened, if the sanitary inspector, who was present at the time, had not assured the people that the child would live.

According to the Christian code, God rewards or punishes thoughts as well as deeds. Ordinary human justice does not bother about mere intentions that are not followed by deeds, but it recognizes the act of a man as a human act; it distinguishes an act done intentionally from one done involuntarily, it differentiates between culpable negligence and unavoidable accident. The Isneg code knows no such distinctions: an act is an act; the result is the only thing taken into consideration. The Isneg language has terms for "doing purposely, intention", and so on; but in practice the fact that something was done unintentionally makes little difference: it is not the guilt of a person that is considered, but only the result of his act.

"Adultery is a shameful crime, especially in women. An Isneg man should content himself with the wife or wives who have been paid for: avoid mixing with other women, such habits bring only woe in their wake. Take care never to make a young girl pregnant; whether the person who commits such a mistake be a married man or a young unmarried man, the result is the same, so I have not to insist upon the matter. Be not less careful when the woman in question is married: to excite the anger of her husband may have dire consequences. If you are caught in the act, who will blame the offended man for killing you? The right will ever remain on his side.

"An unfaithful wife is a thorn in the flesh; keep to your husband, never allow any other man to share your affections. No true Isneg will stand an adulteress: your husband will divorce you and you will have no recourse, your parents will be in duty bound to give back the price they received for you. Who will respect a woman who respects neither herself nor her husband? No excuse will save you from infamy. Your husband m be inclined occasionally to have

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
Apayao OA5
Isneg

763 In general, it is said of a person who dies without anybody being aware of it (*maániaw*), whether by drowning or otherwise, that some part of his body will invariably appear in his house, and that the said part will tell the relatives the name of the deceased and the news of his death.

761 754 Death by cursing is also to be classified under the same heading. Indeed the Isneg never call it by the term *merânud*, and the kidneys of a person who dies on that account, are supposed to have been devoured as usual. Consequently it seems that, according to the Isneg viewpoint, the curse is not so much the immediate cause of death as a kind of summons to the spirits, by which they are invited to proceed to the stealing of a person's kidneys. To curse (*pakkawân;* past tense: *pinkawân;* from the stem *pakkáw*, "shouting") is done shouting, and in such a way as to cause the adversary to hear the curse pronounced against him. The result is instantaneous; the cursed person gradually becomes thinner and thinner, and finally dies. Nevertheless not all curses are intended to entail the death of a person. It may happen, for instance, if you are a thief, that people will pray that some part of your body become diseased or destroyed; in this case you will be *malbág*, and the person who cursed you is said to *manadál* (to destroy, to deteriorate).

761 753 To resume: the Isneg consider all deaths from disease (including suicide and death by cursing) to be caused by a kidney-eating spirit, while deaths by accident or by violence are considered as natural, there being at the same time a kind of connection between death and the object or person that took part in it, either because this object or person constitutes a kind of mediate (the coconut tree from which a person falls) or immediate cause (the authorities who execute a culprit, a headhunter who kills an enemy), or because it is the final cause, *causa finalis* (God, in the case of a martyr; one's country, in the case of a patriot). All deaths by accident or by violence, except felonious homicide, come under the denomination *merânud*. [682]

B. BURIAL AND MOURNING

1. Death till Burial

763 755 Let us now enter the house of a dying Isneg. The poor man is very sick, it has even been rumored about that he is actually very near death, that he can hardly articulate a sound (*mangassát*). The *dorarákit* or shamaness has used all means in her power to avert the